age the burden of feeding them was borne by their employers; *Kaishō* and/or *Unjōya* also made careful preparations in this matter and in lean years their storerooms were opened for relief purposes. The following paragraph appears in the *Kusuri Basho Hikiwatasu ensetsusho*:

> In case of a famine among the Ezo due to poor fishing two go of unpolished rice shall be given each person and salted cod and tangle shall be stored away for such an occasion. When information is had that the Ezo in the mountains are in want of food, relief goods shall be sent immediately and guards dispatched.

As a matter of fact, in 1799, preserved trout, oil cakes, and rice were given away to 218 Ezo who came to the Nemuro *Basho* from Shari and Sōya because of famine in those areas,[13] while in Karafuto rice was distributed when fishing was poor.[14] All these are examples of relief for the Ezo but as has been mentioned that trade which was conducted for the benefit of the natives also served as a relief measure in that it helped to raise their living standards. An outstanding example is that of Etorofu Island where the women and children who were badly in need of clothing became adequately clad as a result of this relief program.[15]

3. MEDICAL TREATMENT

The Ezo had no doctors so to speak, and their medical knowledge was confined to a few medicinal herbs and rudimentary self-aid. Moreover, their herbs and simples were used only through the medium of witchcraft and any seriously ill person had to depend on the ministrations of the witch doctors. After they came into contact with the Japanese, the Ezo suffered from epidemics of measles and smallpox and, unable to cope with these diseases, they left the stricken ones behind and took to the mountains and, as a result, these diseases took a terrible toll. And yet the Matsumae not only refused to help the Ezo in such circumstances but

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[13] Nishichi Ezojin kikatsutsukamatsuri Nemuro Basho e nigekoshi sōrō ni tsuki jōmei tsukamatsuri sōrō gi ototoke moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report in the matter of the succor of those famished Ezo of the West who had come into Nemuro *Basho*), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 10 in *SHS* 5: 955 ff.

[14] *Hokui Dan* 4.

[15] "Since the wages of Ezo women were less than those of Ezo men, they could not afford wadded clothes and they wore clothes made of sealskin and of *Atsushi* while the children for the most part went naked. It was, therefore, arranged to have their wages increased and their treatment improved. Wadded clothes for women and children were prepared and the *Otona* were instructed to see that they were distributed first to all the children and then to the women. This was greatly appreciated by the natives. At present a large number of Ezo women are wearing wadded clothes and no children without clothes can be seen. There are children among the Ezo of other areas who have nothing to wear but this is not true of Kunashiri island." *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 803. Refer also to "Ezochi goyō shui shihai. . . ."

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB 2

forbade any Japanese to come into contact with the natives of stricken areas and exerted every effort solely to prevent the spread of disease into Matsumae itself. This policy was reversed by the Bakufu. The prohibition against the natives wearing straw raincoats and sandals was rescinded and the *Kaishō* were ordered to prepare these for distribution in abundance while the Ezo themselves were taught the art of making coats and sandals.[16] Doctors were assigned to each *Basho* to look after both Japanese and Ezo patients. Originally, six doctors were hired but the number rose to twelve when West Ezo was brought under Japanese adminstration.[17] The doctors were paid seven momme five bu per day plus a special allowance of three momme for those who served in Etorofu. Later the salary was changed to an amount of rice sufficient to support five people plus an allowance from the *Basho* of two momme five bu in silver and a special grant of five bu making a total of three momme per day.[18] In addition a doctor was paid seventy-five mon for each sick call.[19] Originally the doctors were sent from Edo but in later years doctors resident in Hakodate who had good reputations were hired.

[16] Ezochi otorishimari narabi ni kaikoku no gi aifukume torihakarai kata mōshiage sōrō kakitsuke (A document on the matter of the policy of controlling the Ezo and opening up the country), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1 in *SHS* 5: 552–553.

[17] Matsumae Hakodate jōshiki oiriyo oyoso mitsumori kakitsuke (Estimate of expenses at Matsumae and Hakodate for 1807) gives the following: "Doctors' wage . . . 270 ryō—this amount is for the employment of six doctors employed for one year at seven momme five bu per doctor per day." Another example can be found in the estimates for the year 1808 which sets down a total of 449 ryō for twelve doctors. Both these documents are in *Heishin Jōtetsu*.

[18] Evidence that those stationed at Etorofu received an extra allowance of three momme a day is seen in the estimates for 1806 under the heading "Special Allowances at *Basho*"—"288 ryō . . . this amount is for six doctors hired at seven momme per day plus an added allowance of three momme per day in silver for one doctor stationed at Etorofu." We have an actual example of this in an assignment order dated February 25, 1812. "Doctor Kume Yoshinaka, You have been assigned to Etorofu with a special allowance of three momme in silver per day." A further and different example may be cited as follows: "Hakodate Doctor Miura Gentoku: You have been hired by the Bakufu with an allowance to support five persons and a *Basho* allowance of two momme five bu per day in silver." An explanation of the phrase "allowance to support five persons" is found under the title "Oyatoiishi no kyūryō" (Wages of doctors hired by the Bakufu) in the "Hakodate Bugyō narabini shihai muki yakuyaku oyategyō oyoso tsumori torishirabe shō" [Written estimates of the Hakodate Magistracy and other administrators] which is in No. 3 of *Heishin Jōtetsu*: "An allowance to support five persons is equivalent to eight koku, seven to, five shō or eight ryō three bu." This amount is considerably less than the seven momme three bu per day previously mentioned.

[19] "Bakufu hired doctors assigned to a *Basho* shall be given an allowance of two ryō five bu in silver per day plus a special allowance of five bu making a total of three ryō. Furthermore, when the doctor travels on sick calls in the *Basho* an added allowance of seventy-five mon per day is granted." "Bunsei mizunoeuma seiichi. . . ."

[P. 71 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

strong that it very soon makes them fall over drunk, where they lie and sing or sleep. Over the fireplace there hangs a frame upon which cereals and other things are put to dry. Unless one is careful, this is liable to catch fire and give trouble. I now quote part of a letter an Ainu wrote me a little while ago which bears on this point.

"On the evening of November 20 a house-warming feast was held at Fu. The people drank a great deal of *saké* and neat alcohol and many got intoxicated. Some of the stuff caught fire and the newly-made house was completely burnt down." This was a terribly hot hut-warming festival!

Did the people stick to their old native millet beer, no harm would be done, for there is very little alcohol in it. It is the colour of milk and quite thick. The taste is a trifle sour, but it is very fattening. But as for the Japanese *shōchū*—neat alcohol—it is a real danger in every way. I knew of a man—and I am telling no mere fairy tale—who one day took home a big bottle of this *shōchū*. Arrived there, he sat down by his hearth and forthwith began to do what he would call a "great enjoyment." He soon toppled over near the fire and here his breath caught fire and there was spontaneous combustion. His whole house quickly went up in smoke!

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

having a notch cut in the top of it, which he said was the "mouth." On the mouth of each was laid some kind of stuff which had a very disagreeable smell. Some had putrified fish, some a lump of garlic, others scrapings of albatross bill, some powdered deer horn and some a little bear's gall on them.

I ventured to ask my friend the meaning of all these things, and he told me they were set about as a defence against the fearful demons of epidemic disease who were then stalking about Ainu-land. He said that the sticks were representations of eagles, hawks and owls who held the putrified, smelly matter in their bills and so fought against the demons on behalf of the people. The strips cut downwards on the sticks represented the feathers of the birds, who were standing there in great wrath, ready to attack and slay any demon which should dare to appear. The killing was done by the filthy smell, for no demon would be able to endure it. Should he inhale any of it, the effect would be death.

Upon asking why elder sticks were used in preference to the usual willow, this drew forth the following piece of lore.

"Elder and not willow wood is used in making this kind of fetish, because this is an unlucky tree and poisonous. Being so, it is greatly hated by the demons of disease. If such a demon comes anywhere near it, he quickly dies. These kinds of fetishes are sometimes called 'Thick Club.' This is because they knock the demons on the head when they appear, and so slay them outright." Then my friend added, "Posts of elder are used by some to mark the graves of children, for, being brittle, this wood soon breaks, and so is a fitting symbol of a short, snapped-off life. The bigger branches are used for carrying corpses to their graves, and when done with are left there to rot."

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

destroyed. The evening came, and the little Japanese policeman brought the resigned and humbled Ainu to the inn. Their wives and relatives followed, and they all looked supremely mournful and sad. I sat, Japanese fashion, on the small verandah on the ground-floor, and the policeman placed the Ainu on a line in front of me, and then came to sit by my side. He then addressed them, partly in the Ainu language, partly in Japanese, and bestowed on them names which went well to the point. He scolded them harshly, and asked them why they had assaulted me.

One of them, as grave as a judge, with his eyes cast down, and in a half-broken voice, came forward and said, that if once you have your likeness taken you have to give up your life to it, and it brings illness to yourself, to your children, your parents, and your neighbours. Not only that, but as I had *taken* many people together, famine was sure to fall on the country. "Then," he added—and he seemed positive of what he was talking about—"then there was a fish the stranger *made*"—the Ainu have no word for painting—"and had we not destroyed his *makings* all the fish would have disappeared from the sea, and all the Ainu would have died of starvation"—which was a terrible contingency, as the Ainu live mainly by fishing. "We have not hurt the stranger," continued this hairy representative of Master Eustache de St. Pierre, "and now that all the Ainu and the fish he made are destroyed we are safe."

"You are mistaken," said I, when, by the aid of the policeman, I understood the meaning of this long harangue, and I produced the large sketch of the scene which I had repainted from memory. This certainly beat them. They could hardly believe their own eyes, and looked at each other as if some great calamity were approaching. I have no doubt that they considered me an evil spirit, and, as such, too powerful to be contended with. Discretion was their best part of valour, as they proved. One by one they approached the verandah, sat cross-legged in front of me, rubbed their hands together, stroked their hair and beard three times, and three times each put his head down to my feet, begging my pardon. The Ainu women and children who had assembled in the back yard, where the function took place, were crying and moaning

EXORCISM

755 Here we are chiefly concerned with proceedings intended to repel or expel evil spirits threatening or inflicting serious maladies. In the case of difficult childbirth or any grave malady members of the village throng the dwelling, the elders busy with magico-religious expedients, while all express sympathy with the sufferers. [789] [822] I am told that in desperate cases old and reeking garments are waved to drive away evil spirits, and that the accumulated *Ainu rak*, the odour of the unwashed, helps to repel them.

796 A public manifestation of sympathy and helpfulness, *ukaobiuki*, 789 characteristic of the Ainu, is a dancing procession called *niwen-horipa*. When there is some untoward or tragic happening such as ● 731 a death by accident or the burning of a house, the important *kamui* are invoked and a procession is formed and moves towards the spot, 535 the men in front carrying swords, the women walking behind. At each step the men alternately stretch and bend the arm, holding the sword vertically, and call out 'wo-o-o pfui!' The women also stretch the right arm forward and bend it, exclaiming 'fusa!' The sufferers await the procession, and when it arrives at the place of the affliction it is usual to march round it three times, the men striking out with their swords. Then a double line is formed with the sufferers in one rank and sympathetic visitors in another, and the procession moves up to a small *nusa* where short prayers are said. The sufferers are then cleared of any evil influence that may remain, by being stroked from above downwards with the swords. Individual greetings and condolences are then said. Although the *niwen horipa* is fading out in the north where the Ainu population is sparse, in the south groups of Ainu often come many miles to take part in the ceremony and sympathize with the sufferers.

755 The word *uepotara*, which I have rendered 'exorcism', but which according to Batchelor implies 'solicitude', is applied in practice to a combination of measures used in the treatment of the sick. In the first example to be given a whole battery is brought to bear upon [115] the patient. I was first told of it by Kotanpira Ekashi, perhaps my best informant, but I saw it in 1933 and again about a year later. [114] The account given of this, and the following example, is recorded from the method employed by Isonoash Ekashi, who, though less learned, is well accustomed to these rituals. His prayers and invocations are less classical than those of my other informants, but those I have translated have been approved by independent Ainu to whom I recited them.

DEATH AND BURIAL

765 Another custom to confuse the departed spirit was observed.
783 Some days after the funeral the house and its contents were again cleaned. Chisei-koro Kamui was removed from the north-east to the south-east corner and all the treasures were moved from the
[778] north to the south. A backward-shaven *inau* was set up in the south-east corner of the hearth instead of in the north-east. These things were replaced after a few months, the spirit of the departed being then less likely to return.

[789] Ashes thrown about the house, at the entrance, and in the yard,
775 are believed to repel the spirit of the deceased and to keep away
[776] *wen kamui*.

There was an old custom of *chisei-a-raire* (putting the house to
768 death), that is to say burning it at the death of an old woman if she had been the chief occupant. I was told that the reason for this was to provide a house in the underworld for her occupation. It was unnecessary to do this for a man as he would be able to provide
768 one for himself. Although the custom has lapsed, at Mukawa a
184 model house is made and burnt for the spirits of the dead. It is
178 about six feet by ten, with posts stuck into the ground. It has a hearth with a fire, a frame over it from which a pot is hung, and some food is cooked. Kamui Fuchi and Shiramba Kamui are prayed to, the former to ensure that the house is safely delivered to the departed spirit. I am told that in that district the term Pokna Moshiri, Underworld, is not used; the dead are said to go to Kamui Kotan.

Variants in Funeral Customs

789
775 In the north there are some differences in funeral customs. Rennui-
184 kesh Ekashi told me of a device, the ghost tube, to induce a wandering or refractory spirit to re-enter the grave, and made one for me (Pl. XXIV, fig. 4). It is made of *kuttara*, and is sharpened at one end for insertion in the soil. Near the top, under the joint, is an opening. The tube is planted in the road some distance from the grave, with the opening towards the grave and the back towards the house. The spirit is adjured to enter and take the short cut to the nether regions. The same device is sometimes used when an
[731] epidemic threatens to invade the village; the tube is planted in the road by which the approach of the epidemic is feared, and a sickle is placed behind it.